

49. According to Rush, Jenner's vaccine initiated 'a new era in the medical history of man'. He looked forward to a similar solution for the plague or yellow-fever epidemics. See Rush, *Letters*, pp. 840 and 844–6.
50. Rush was an anti-contagionist who campaigned vigorously for the removal of legislation affecting the freedom of movement of individuals and restrictions of trade caused by quarantine.
51. Rush, *Autobiography*, p. 87.
52. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 89. Rush readily admitted that he had adopted some of the terms of Dr Brown's system, in the 'new nomenclature' of his own system, but he insisted that many of his opinions were original and recorded in his publications long before John Brown was even known in America.
53. Butterfield, Introduction, in Rush, *Letters*, p. lxviii.
54. According to Butterfield, Rush was so closely associated with the composition of *Common Sense* that friends such as John Adams and Charles Lee thought he was the author. He did not claim the title, Butterfield notes, but 'he justly considered himself the midwife' of this famous pamphlet. See Rush, *Letters*, p. 96, note 4.
55. Rush, *Letters*, p. 855.
56. *American Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 16, p. 230. For an interesting account of this affair, see Appendix III, 'The Rush–Cobbett Feud' in Rush, *Letters*, p. 1217. Concerning Cobbett's political career in Philadelphia, see William Cobbett, *Peter Porcupine in America: Pamphlets on Republicanism and Revolution*, ed. and introd. by David A. Wilson, Ithaca, NY, 1994.
57. Rush, *Letters*, p. lxi.
58. Rush, *ibid.*, p. lxi.
59. David Ramsay, *An Eulogium upon Benjamin Rush M.D.*, Philadelphia, PA, 1813, p. 129.
60. *Observations* was published in Philadelphia in 1789; the *Sixteen Introductory Lectures* (hereafter referred to as S.I.L.) was published in the same place in 1811, two years before he died. Like the medical ethics of Gregory and Percival these lectures were intended for a general audience as well as for medical students. The titles of the sixteen are as follows:
 1. On the necessary connexion between observation and reasoning in medicine.
 2. On the character of Dr Sydenham.
 3. On the causes of death in diseases, that are not incurable.
 4. On the influence of physical causes, in promoting the strength and activity of the intellectual faculties of man.
 5. On the vices and virtues of physicians.
 6. On the causes which have retarded the progress of medicine, and on the means of promoting its certainty, and greater usefulness.

7. On the education proper to qualify a young man for the study of medicine.
8. On the construction and management of hospitals.
9. On the pains and pleasures of a medical life.
10. On the means of acquiring business, and the causes which prevent the acquisition, and occasion the loss of it, in the profession of medicine.
11. On the utility of a knowledge of the faculties and operations of the human mind, to a physician.
12. On the opinions and modes of practice of Hippocrates.
13. On the duty and advantages of studying the diseases of domestic animals, and the remedies proper to remove them.
14. On the duties of patients to their physicians.
15. On the means of acquiring knowledge.
16. On the study of medical jurisprudence.
Two Lectures upon the pleasures of the senses and of the mind; with an inquiry into their proximate cause.
61. William Cullen, quoted by John Wright in 'Metaphysics and Physiology: Mind, Body, and the Animal Economy in Eighteenth Century Scotland', in M.A. Stewart (ed.), *Studies in the Philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment* (Oxford, 1990), p. 251.
62. Roy Porter gives an entertaining general account of this development in his *Mind-Forg'd Manacles*, pp. 176–228. Rush's analysis of sympathy, like Gregory's, had its basis in the Scottish medical view of the relationship between the mind and the body. There is a comprehensive account of the eighteenth-century physiology of sympathy in L.J. Rather, *Mind and Body in Eighteenth-Century Medicine: A Study Based on Jerome Gaub's De regimine mentis*, London, 1965.
63. According to Christopher Lawrence, Cullen 'limited' the term to mean those diseases without fever and involving the whole nervous system. For an account of Cullen's nosology and his doctrine of nerves, see Christopher Lawrence, 'Medicine as Culture', p. 265.
64. Porter, *Mind-Forg'd Manacles*, p. 178.
65. Porter, *ibid.*, p. 179.
66. Porter, *ibid.*, p. 179.
67. Carleton, Introduction, in Rush, *Lectures on the Mind*, p. 27.
68. Porter, *Mind-Forg'd Manacles*, ch. 4.
69. Porter, *ibid.*, pp. 181–2.
70. For a contemporary account of Rush's theory of medicine, see: John T. Rees, *Remarks on the Medical Theories of Brown, Cullen, Darwin and Rush*, Philadelphia, PA, 1805, p. 67. See also Ramsay, *An Eulogium*.
71. Rush, *Letters*, pp. 584–5, note 1.
72. *American Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 16, p. 229.
73. *Ibid.*, Vol. 16, p. 229.

74. See Rush, *Lectures on the Mind*, p. 426. When Rush wrote his lectures on physiology in 1805, he drew his inspiration from a wide variety of sources. As Carlson notes, his ideas were greatly influenced by the British empiricists, Locke, Hartley, and Priestley; the Scottish Common Sense philosophers Reid and Beattie; and the French sensationalists and ideologues, Condillac, Cabanis and Dumas. *Ibid.*, p. 369.
75. Rush, *Lectures on the Mind*, p. 425.
76. Carlson in Rush, *ibid.*, p. 404, note. In his discussion of Rush's 'phrenology', Carlson explains that Rush was the coiner of the word which is usually attributed to Thomas Forster (1789–1860). Forster, however, is said to have first used the term phrenology in 1815, ten years after Rush began his lectures.
77. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 28.
78. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 406.
79. Quoted in Wright, 'Metaphysics and Physiology', p. 251.
80. Rush, *Lectures on the Mind*, pp. 404–5.
81. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 408.
82. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 553.
83. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 425.
84. *S.I.L.*, p. 256.
85. Rush, *Lectures on the Mind*, pp. 426ff. For a helpful account of the relationship between the phrenological movement and the development of psychiatry, see Roger Cooter, 'Phrenology and British Alienists ca. 1825–1845', in Andrew Scull (ed.), *Madhouses, Mad-Doctors and Madmen. The Social History of Psychiatry in the Victorian Era*, London, 1981, pp. 58–104.
86. Jan Goldstein, *Console and Classify: The French Psychiatric Profession in the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1987, pp. 254–5.
87. Rush, *Lectures on the Mind*, p. 429.
88. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 429.
89. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 430.
90. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 431. It should be noted that in these lectures Rush also espoused, though with caution, the physiognomy of John Kaspar Lavater and the electromagnetic theories of Anton Mesmer.
91. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 186.
92. Rush, *Two Essays on the Mind*, ed. E.T. Carlson, New York, 1972, p. 20.
93. According to Rush, 'the best criterion of the truth of a philosophical opinion, is its tendency to produce exalted ideas, of the Divine Being, and humble views of ourselves'. His doctrine, he assured his students, 'is calculated to produce these effects in an eminent degree'; *Lectures on the Mind*, p. 189.
94. According to Rush great inroads had been made in controlling 'intermitting' and 'continual fevers'; smallpox was disarmed of its mortality by inoculation; tetanus 'received a check'; and many hundreds of people were brought back to life through the artificial

- respiration methods of the humane societies. See Rush, *Two Essays on the Mind*, p. 36.
95. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 37.
96. Rush, *S.I.L.*, Philadelphia, PA, 1811, p. 256.
97. Rush, *Lectures on the Mind*, p. 266.
98. See also Rush's discussion in *Observations on the Duties of a Physician*. In *Medical Inquiries and Observations*, 4 vols in 2, New York, 1972, Vol. I, p. 257.
99. Rush, *Lectures on the Mind*, pp. 493–94.
100. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 494.
101. Rush, *Two Essays on the Mind*, p. x.
102. M. Donnelly, *Managing the Mind*, London and New York, 1983, p. 46.
103. Rush, *Lectures on the Mind*, p. 493.
104. Rush quoted in Ramsay, *An Eulogium*, p. 47.
105. Rush, *Lectures on the Mind*, pp. 716–17. Cf. James C. Mohr, *Doctors and the Law: Medical Jurisprudence in Nineteenth Century America*, New York, 1993.
106. R. Porter, *Mind-Forg'd Manacles*, p. 280, summarizing the 'empiricist' view.
107. Rush, *S.I.L.*, p. 393.
108. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 395.
109. Rush, *Lectures on the Mind*, p. 717.
110. Rush, *Essays*, p. 9.
111. Rush also argued that a virtuous education, namely a Christian one, acted as a cause in the development of the moral sense. 'Just as the sympathy which first produces care in a surgeon, becomes in later years a habit, so too the consequence of a virtuous education manifests itself in later life.' He suggested that the 'boasted morality of the Deists' was nothing more than the effect of an earlier religious education. See *Two Essays on the Mind*, pp. 28–9.
112. Rush, *Essays*, p. 9.
113. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 35.
114. Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania (charter 1783), Franklin College, Lancaster, Pennsylvania (charter 1787), were parts of Rush's scheme for a state-wide educational system which was to include a free school system and a network of four colleges. See Douglas Sloan's comprehensive discussion in *Scottish Enlightenment and American College Ideal*, esp. pp. 208–11.
115. Rush, *Essays*, p. 45.
116. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 48.
117. According to Rush, there was empirical evidence that singing was a cure for consumption. Rush, *ibid.*, p. 47.
118. Rush, *Lectures on the Mind*, p. 698. It should be noted that Julia, Rush's wife of thirty-six years, bore him thirteen children, nine of whom survived him. She appears not to have minded being asked to